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THE HISTORY OF GERMAN BOOKTRADE BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

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OUTLINE

I. Introduction 1

Definitions and scope 1

National and trade bibliography 2

II. The Beginnings of Bibliography 4

"Bibliography" before the invention of printing .. 4

The invention of printing 8

The importance of the Frankfurt fair 10

Early bibliographical attempts: Gesner 11

III. The Messkataloge (Book-fair catalogs) 13

The Willer Messkatalog 14

The official Frankfurt Messkatalog 18

The Frankfurt and Leipzig book-fairs 19

The Leipzig Messkataloge 21

Influence of the Messkataloge 22

Collections of Messkataloge 23

Other works based on the Messkataloge 24

IV. The 18th and 19th Centuries, to the Founding of the Börsenverein 25

Georgi. Allgemeines europäisches Bücher-Lexikon ... 26

Heinsius. Allgemeines Bücher-lexikon 27

Kayser. Vollständiges Bücher-lexikon 30

The booktrade in the 18th century 32

The founding of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler, 1825 37

V. The bibliographical work of the J.C. Hinrichs firm..... 40

The Halbjahrskatalog..... 40

The bibliographical list in the Börsenblatt..... 43

The Wöchentliches Verzeichnis..... 44

The Vierteljahrskatalog..... 46

Hinrichs' Katalog (Fünfjahrskatalog)..... 46

Supplementary works, issued by others..... 48

VI. The bibliographical activities of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler..... 52

The Deutsche Bücherei: its founding and purpose... 53

The Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel..... 54

The Deutsche Nationalbibliographie..... 57

The Halbjahrsverzeichnis..... 60

Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis..... 60

Other bibliographical work at the Deutsche Bücherei..... 63

VII. Conclusion..... 63

THE HISTORY OF GERMAN BOOKTRADE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

Definitions and scope.

Bibliography has been variously defined, the most comprehensive definition being that of "the science of books". This definition has the advantage, in addition to being comprehensive, of being short. Brevity, however, in this case, makes for complexity rather than for simplicity: for books cover practically all knowledge, to begin with, and they themselves have so many aspects that the science of books would seem to be all-inclusive. Taking the term bibliography in its widest sense, this is in fact almost the case. Van Hoesen[1] says that "Bibliography, as the science of books... may be said to be the organization of the records of knowledge" - though not the organization of knowledge itself. The historical development of the meaning of the term bibliography is of interest. It originally meant the writing or transcribing of books (from two Greek words meaning "book" and "to write"). From this early meaning it later came to mean the writing about books, especially rare or interesting books. This meaning persisted until about the middle of the 17th century, and from it developed the present meaning of the systematic recording and description of books. Even now there are variations in the meaning

1. Van Hoesen. Bibliography, practical enumerative, historical. p.1.

of the term; the English bibliographers use it in a somewhat different sense from that used in this country. These differences are perhaps due, not so much to a difference in conception of the field of bibliography, as to a difference in the emphasis thrown on the various aspects of the field. For the purpose of the present paper, the definition given by Mudge[1] is perhaps the best (it would fall into the category of what Van Hoesen calls enumerative bibliography): Bibliography is "the science of the systematic description or recording of groups of books which have either a period, regional, subject, author, or other recognized relation to each other". A bibliography is therefore such a list of books. A national bibliography is a list of the books published in a given country; it usually includes also books by writers of the given nationality published elsewhere, and occasionally - especially in regard to older literature - is extended to mean in addition books about the country.

National and trade bibliography.

National bibliography is important not only as showing the literary activity and book production of a country, but also as giving the research worker in a given field of knowledge, in addition to the subject bibliographies in his special field, a supplementary source for material which will be

1. Mudge. Bibliography. p.3.

exhaustive and up-to-date, and will often give fuller bibliographical information. In library work national bibliographies are of course essential aids in various phases of the work, such as ordering books, cataloging them, answering reference questions, and building up the library's book collection.

Who compiles these national bibliographies? Where do they come from? Van Hoesen[1] lists three types of sources for existing compilations of national bibliography: "commercial (associations of book-dealers and publishers); governmental (e.g., copyright lists, lists of deposits in national libraries required by law); and professional (i.e., the work of bibliographers). But they begin and end for the most part in trade bibliographies." They are therefore chiefly lists compiled by the booktrade for the benefit of the booksellers and publishers. Practically all the great current national bibliographies are commercial in origin.

Like that of most other countries, the national bibliography of Germany began as a trade matter, and has continued for the most part as trade bibliography. As was to be expected, bibliography began in Germany, the country of the invention of printing. Although some of the earlier bibliographies include manuscripts, the general application of the term at

1. Van Hoesen. Bibliography, practical, enumerative, historical. p.210.

often

the present time is to printed books. Bibliographies originated in the advertisements of books issued by the printers and in the biographies of the humanistic period which were furnished with bibliographical appendices. It really became genuine bibliography only when books were designated by individual title-pages and date of publication.[1]

The Beginnings of Bibliography.

"Bibliography" before the invention of printing.

In order to see how the printers' advertisements developed into trade bibliographies, it will be helpful to consider the conditions of the booktrade - if such it may be called - before the invention of printing. The two principal institutions which were responsible for the preservation and spread of learning through books during the Middle Ages were the monasteries and the universities. In the monasteries there was no real trade in books. At least until the end of the 11th century, each monastery was very proud of its book treasures, and rarely lent them for copying without high security. Only in case of dire need did a monastery pawn or sell them, so that they rarely fell into the hands of Jews or dealers and became merchandise for trade.[2] From about the 12th century the uni-

1. Schneider. Theorie und Geschichte der Bibliographie. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p.845)

2. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1,p.729)

versities became the centers of learning, and here the case was quite different as regards the trade in books. The need of books stimulated the business of copying manuscripts and the trade in them. Since the German universities were founded somewhat later than Paris and Bologna, their records show systems of book-production similar to those of the older institutions. At Prague all the various people who had a part in book production were under the direct control of the university; the booktrade of the city was under the supervision of the library of the university. Similar regulations were in use at the universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, and Cologne. The trade in manuscripts never became so important in the German university cities as it had in Paris or London, however. This was probably due in large measure to the dictation system in vogue at the universities; under this system transcripts of texts were made by the students themselves, and there was of course less demand for the texts in the trade. "Probably the fact that the industry of loaning manuscripts to students was not well developed in the German universities delayed somewhat the organization of the booktrade in the university towns. Nevertheless Richard de Bury names Germany among the countries where books could be purchased, and Gerhard Groote speaks of purchasing books in Frankfort. This city became, in fact, important in the trade of manuscripts for nearly a century before the beginning of German printing."[1] The

1. Putnam. Books and their makers in the middle ages, v.1, p.281.

account of the trade at the universities given by Putnam is somewhat at variance with that given by Kirchhoff.[1] Kirchhoff states that the situation was different in Germany from that in France and Italy, for in the latter countries there existed corporations of manuscript dealers in the university towns when printing was introduced there, and this facilitated the selling of the first printed books through these same organizations, and so fairly quickly developed an independent booktrade. In Germany, on the other hand, only one of the universities flourishing in the 15th century had control over the dealing in manuscripts, and that was Vienna. Even there they paid no such attention to the trade as did the universities in Paris and Bologna. However, says Kirchhoff, this really made for a freer and more independent booktrade in the long run. It was not concentrated so completely in the university towns, but was more wide-spread as in the case of Nördlingen, Augsburg, and Hagenau. These cities, second only to those in which printing was first started, exerted a very great influence on the German booktrade.

In addition to the trade in the university towns, similar activity was also beginning in other places. As the quotation from Putnam shows, there were some dealers, but it really was not an organized trade at the time of Richard de Bury; to collect manuscripts then required two essential qualifications, patience and money. There could be of course no real book-

1. Kirchhoff. Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.1, p.8-9.

trade, except for the rich, until the coming of cheap paper in the 14th century. This is an especially important consideration in Germany, since there was less wealth among the German nobles during the 14th and 15th centuries, and apparently less interest in literary luxuries than in France and Italy.[1] As the German cities began to flourish after the Crusades, there gradually developed a generally felt need for education. Schools were established and large numbers of books were needed for these school. Teachers sometimes became scribes, and one, Diebolt Lauber of Hagenau, later became a publisher, employing scribes to make copies of the books in demand.

The Brothers of the Common Life also took an active part in the production and distribution of manuscripts. Their work differed from that of the monasteries and the universities in that their books were for the most part produced in the vernacular, instead of in Latin. They sold these books for money in order to get the means of supporting their undertakings. No doubt their work in the education of the lower classes helped to prepare the way for Luther and Melancthon. They made use of the printing press as soon as it was invented.

As mentioned above, Gerhard Groot, the founder of the Brothers of the Common Life, purchased books at Frankfurt. During the 15th century, manuscripts were bought and sold at the fairs held there and at Nördlingen, Salzburg, Ulm, etc. The fairs and annual markets came to have an increasing impor-

1. Putnam. Books and their makers in the middle ages. v.1, p.276.

tance as centers of the trade. The work of scribes was at first carried on mostly in connection with cathedrals and churches, and later associated itself with these annual markets and fairs. Although the development of the trade came later in Germany, "it appears that towards the middle of the 15th century... the circulation of boks among the people was more extensive in amount and more wide-reaching in the territory and the classes of buyers concerned than was the case in any other state of Europe".[1] From its trade in manuscripts, the Frankfurt fair developed into a center of trade in printed books.

The invention of printing.

With the invention of printing came a momentous change for the booktrade. Gutenberg's invention gave a means of mass production, and therefore a booktrade with Germany as its center. An illustration will serve to show the difference in the number of volumes in the trade. About the middle of the 15th century, it took Vespasiano in Florence almost two years with the help of 45 scribes, to make up a collection of 200 volumes of manuscripts for Cosimo de' Medici. On the other hand the earliest printed Bibles were certainly issued in editions of at least 80 to 100 copies, and the size of the editions rapidly increased so that within 50 years of the invention of printing, it is estimated that there were published annually about

1. Putnam. Books and their makers in the middle ages. v.1, p. 296.

300,000 volumes (not, of course, titles).[1] The marketing of this flood of materialwas one of the most serious problems of the printer, who was also the publisher and bookseller; and it was complicated not only by competition, but through the lessening of profits by the rapid succession of unauthorized reprints.[1] The early printers had other problems - their business required considerable capital and equipment, printed books brought very much lower prices than manuscripts had, etc. - but this one of distribution was perhaps the most serious. They could sell only the smaller and cheaper books in the neighborhood of the place of printing; they had to find a wider market. Under these circumstances, there came into existence the traveling book-agent, who represented the printer-publisher, tried to find out the taste and literary needs of different localities, and worked up a lively trade with them. These traveling salesmen became familiar with the times at which the prospective buyers came together in one place, that is, at the church festivals and the fairs, and soon booksellers were established in especially favorable places such as Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Basel, Leipzig. Besides the traveling booksellers, who were interested mostly in the wholesale trade, there were also retail men. Some dealers had branches or agents in several cities.

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p. 736)

The traveling booksellers announced their wares by means of advertisements or handlists which were posted in conspicuous places. One of the earliest examples of these lists known to be in existence now is that issued in 1469 by Johann Mentel of Strassburg.[1] Another very early printed list is one of Heinrich Eggestein, also of Strassburg, printed in 1470 or 1471.[2] A space was left empty on these lists for the agent to write in the name of the inn at which he was staying. These advertisements usually listed Latin or German books since these would be in demand among their customers, and at first only the books published by the firm which the agent was representing. Later, however, they contained the works of several publishers and also announcements of books in press. These lists suggest the beginning of a trade bibliography.

The importance of the Frankfurt fair.

Just as the annual markets and fairs had offered a gathering place and had become centers for the trade in manuscripts, so now they became the centers for trade in printed books. Among these Messestädte, Frankfurt-am-Main, situated near the center of the civilized world of that time, rose to the dominating place, not only for Germany, but for all western Europe. The manuscript trade grew naturally into the trade in printed books. Peter Schöffer, one of the earliest printers, is re-

1. Growoll. Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography, p. 2.

2. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p. 738)

ported to have visited the Frankfurt fair, and soon others followed his example and attended fairly regularly. As early as 1485, the trade in books at the fair had developed to such an extent that the Archbishop of Mainz thought it necessary to write the council at Frankfurt that they were to look over the books for sale at the fair and scrutinize their content. The next year he issued a mandate against translation of books into German and established a commission to see that this mandate was carried out. The importance of the booktrade at the fairs is also indicated by an entry in the city account books in 1488, which shows that out-of-town printers paid 8 percent of the total receipts for "Haus- und Marktgeld".[1] By the end of the 15th century, bookdealers from other countries were beginning to send representatives to the Frankfurt fair, and it thus became the center of the European booktrade. In the 1520's and 1530's the Frankfurt fairs were very important and very lively. Publishers and printers (for by this time the two were becoming distinct undertakings) tried to get their stock ready before the beginning of the fair.

Early bibliographical attempts: Gesner.

The Reformation of course had considerable influence on the booktrade in stimulating a desire for reading on the part of all classes of society; and in the impetus it gave to education. Newspapers and periodicals came into importance.

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p. 740)

There was much demand for the Bible and the writings of Luther.

With the stimulation of reading and the enormously increased production of books, came the need of a bibliography. A Swiss scholar, Conrad Gesner, was the first to try to supply this need with a universal bibliography. His Bibliotheca universalis, published in 1545 "collected for the first time, and preserved for posterity, a faithful record of the literary activities of the first century of printing and publishing."[1] Gesner's first volume listed the authors alphabetically by their forenames, and for each one mentioned gave all his literary works, even those in manuscript or merely projected, and accompanied the descriptions with critical notes which reveal his kindly spirit and attitude of fairness to his fellow writers. In 1548 a second volume appeared which furnished a classified arrangement of the Bibliotheca, and later this was continued for theology and there was an alphabetic index to the previous parts. For a full account of the work and life of Gesner, the reader is referred to the article by Bay.[2] Gesner's work is mentioned here not as an integral part of German bibliography - for the work is universal not national, and although he lived for a considerable time in Germany, he cannot be claimed as a German bibliographer - but rather as an example of an early and successful work which won for its author

1. Bay. Conrad Gesner. (In Bibliographical Society of America. Papers. 1916, v. 10, p. 64-65)

2. Ibid. p.53-86.

There was much demand for the Bible and the writings of Luther. With the stimulation of reading and the enormously increased production of books, came the need of a bibliography. A Swiss scholar, Conrad Gesner, was the first to try to supply this need with a universal bibliography. His *Bibliotheca universalis*, published in 1545 "collected for the first time, and preserved for posterity, a faithful record of the literary activities of the first century of printing and publishing."[1] Gesner's first volume listed the authors alphabetically by their forenames, and for each one mentioned gave all his literary works, even those in manuscript or merely projected, and accompanied the descriptions with critical notes which revealed his kindly spirit and attitude of fairness to his fellow writers. In 1548 a second volume appeared which furnished a classified arrangement of the *Bibliotheca*, and later this was continued for theology and there was an alphabetic index to the previous parts. For a full account of the work and life of Gesner, the reader is referred to the article by Hay.[2] Gesner's work is mentioned here not as an integral part of German bibliography - for the work is universal not national, and although he lived for a considerable time in Germany, he cannot be claimed as a German bibliographer - but rather as an example of an early and successful work which won for its author

1. Hay. Conrad Gesner. (In Bibliographical Society of America Papers. 1916, v. 10, p. 64-65)

2. Ibid. p.33-38.

the title of "the father of bibliography".

A serious handicap to the booktrade, and especially to the retail dealer's development was the difficulty of finding out about the recently published books. Although the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs were gathering places for the booksellers themselves and so furnished information to them, they did not succeed to any extent in reaching the book-buying public. In the 15th century some German publishers had started the custom of developing trade by means of issuing catalogs of their publications, as for instance, Johann Mentel of Strassburg, and Koburger in Nürnberg. This custom had practically died out in Germany in the 16th century until the sixties. About this time a publisher's catalog of Ulrich Neuber and Johann von Berg in Nürnberg appeared, without dates but with prices. Up to this time, however, there was little to aid the book-buyer.[1]

The Messkataloge

The result of this ignorance of the current literary publications for the book-buying public and especially for the scholars in smaller places, was the unfortunate necessity of their depending for their choice of books on the bookseller's judgment, ability, and business routine. Sometimes customers had to wait patiently for their dealers to get what they thought valu-

1. Kirchhoff. Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2, p.32.

able and bring it from the fairs. There were various difficulties, - perhaps chief among them, the fact that the ideas of the bookseller and the scholar did not always coincide. At the best a booklover might put in an order for a book of which he had heard through his correspondence. But if the fair was missed, he either had to wait a half-year (for the next fair), or spend a considerable sum to get the book, for a business was slowly developing which made possible between fairs an uninterrupted connection between dealers in widely separated places.

The Willer Messkatalog.

The announcement of books by individual publisher's and dealer's catalogs could only partially ameliorate the situation, as they had always been very incomplete and there were fairly large gaps in the stock of the individual dealer. It was therefore an epoch-making event in the history of the German booktrade when Georg Willer, an Augsburg bookseller, in 1564 started the Messkatalog, the list of the books which had just been published in that fair.

Little is known of the life of Willer, except that he probably lived from 1514 to 1592 or 1593,[1] and was one of the leading booksellers of his time. It is not known exactly when his business started; it was probably before 1550 and was flourishing in 1557.[2] It was the business need of this bookdealer, perhaps the most important bookseller of his time, who kept for his

1. Kirchhoff. Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2, p.26.

2. Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, v.43, Article: Willer.

own business a stock of the books of other publishers, and sold to smaller dealers as well as to individuals, outside of the fairs, that led to the beginning of this first trade bibliography. Willer, a regular attendant at the Frankfurt fair, had a branch in Tübingen and an agent ("Faktor") in Vienna and so had opportunity to know and try to supply the literary needs of South Germany. As a bookseller, he was widely known. Willer does not seem to have cultivated trade through traveling agents, but he found a different way: he published and distributed catalogs of the books "ad exterorum Bibliopolarum, omniumque rei Literariae Studiosorum gratiam et usum coëmpti" by him at the Frankfurt fair, as it said on his first Messkatalog. This first catalog had the title:

> "Novorum librorum, quos nundinae autumnales, Francoforti anno 1564 celebratae, venales exhibuerunt, Catalogus. Ad exterorum Bibliopolarum, omniumque rei Literariae Studiosorum gratiam et usum coëmpti , & venales expositi: Augustae in officina libraria Georgij Vvilleri, civis & Bibliopolae Augustani. Inserti sunt his nonnulli, ijdemque perpauci vetustioris editionis libri, ob raram eorum & insignem utilitatem commendabiles & iam multoties à doctis viris expetiti. Anno a salutifero Virginis partu, M.D.LXIIII".

Growoll[1] describes it as a quarto of ten leaves containing nineteen pages, and giving the titles of 256 books, arranged under

1. Growoll. Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography. p. 4-5.

classes. The books listed in the Messkatalog were thus for the most part books that Willer had been able to procure at the fair. The later catalogs, from the Easter issue of 1568 on, speak also of such new or newly edited works as had appeared since the last fair; but these were in the minority and even in the 1568 catalog it says:

> "Newe Bücher, so zum theil inn Augspurg, seidt der nechst verschinen Franckfurter Herbstmess, zum theil in der Fastenmess diess Jars zusammen gebracht worden and zu Augspurg bey Georgen Willer zuuerkauffen sein".

The Messkatalog was made and printed at Frankfurt.[1] Willer was so well-known that all the booksellers came to him in the first day or so of the fair; then the catalog was put together so quickly that it could be distributed during the rest of the fair time. The packing and sending of the books to Augsburg (Willer's headquarters) and then getting out the catalog would have taken much more time and would have interfered more with business. The haste with which the catalog was made is evident in the number of misprints, etc.; nevertheless it seemed the more efficient way to handle the business. As the quoted title shows, the catalog was at first a list of the books that Willer had for sale; it grew rapidly into a general list of new books.

During the time that the Messkatalog was issued by Willer

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.1. p.480.

or other booksellers, it consisted of a list of the books which were really brought to the fair and put into trade, and these only insofar as they were known to the compiler.[1] It could make no claim to absolute completeness, but offered rather only a fairly exact view of the trade at the Frankfurt fair. The catalog was regularly issued by Georg Willer each Easter and Michaelmas fair up to 1592. It listed first Latin works, with indication of place of publication, publisher or printer, and format; then followed German writings in the same way, and finally - but only since 1568 - the works which had appeared in modern foreign languages. Prices were not given. The Easter Messkatalog of 1595 also listed books which were to be out at the next fall fair; in other words, it gave announcements of forthcoming books.

With the year 1592 the Messkatalog ceased to be published by Georg Willer's firm. It had apparently either taken on an official character from the Frankfurt magistrates, or at least must have been the most widely circulated and sought-for, as there seems otherwise to be no reason why Henning Grosse in Leipzig should have begun the issue of his Elenchus oder achtjährigen Bücherverzeichniss von 1593 bis 1600 with the ceasing of the Willer Messkatalog.[2] There was a continuation of the Willer Messkatalog by his sons Georg and Elias Willer, but at the same time and even during the lifetime of the elder Georg Willer, there were Messkataloge issued by the Augsburg booksellers Johann Georg Porten-

1. Kirchhoff. Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2. p.27.

2. Ibid. v.2. p.28.

bach and Tobias Lutz and later by Hans Portenbach and Tobias Lutz. The printer Peter Schmidt in Frankfurt-am-Main published a catalog on his own account at the Easter fair in 1590; so did Christian Egenolf's Erben in 1594 and the bookseller Paul Brachfeld from 1595 to 1598. A Catholic Messkatalog under the title "Index novus librorum imprimis catholicorum Theologorum" was issued by the Jesuits from 1614 to 1619.[1] That these different Messkataloge appearing together in the same year consisted of different compilations shows the differing range of demand which they met.

The official Frankfurt Messkatalog.

Under these somewhat chaotic conditions, the imperial bookcommission, at the instigation of the Catholic party, made plans to take over the issuing of the Messkatalog. Thereupon the town council of Frankfurt-am-Main, in order to protect the freedom of the fair (and that of the city) hastened to forbid the issuing of Messkataloge by individual bookdealers, and to undertake it itself beginning with the year 1598. From that time on the compilation of the Messkatalog was done at the "Rathscanzlei" to which the bookdealers were required to deliver titles. This solution of the difficulty did not end the troubles of the Messkatalog for all time, however, for unfortunately the Frankfurt council was not impartial toward Catholic and Protestant interests, and in 1619 and 1620 Herzog Maximilian of Bavaria made

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p. 751)

complaints on behalf of booksellers of Munich. It was also unfortunate that the Messkatalog at the beginning of the 17th century was forced to assist in the matter of censorship. The official Frankfurt Messkatalog ran from 1598 to 1749.

The Frankfurt Messkatalog thus continued for nearly 200 years, and the Leipzig catalog even longer, from 1594 to 1860. The long life of these Messkataloge shows their importance to the literary world and to the booktrade, in spite of their many shortcomings. They had attained the significance of a bibliographical periodical, and until the growth of bibliographical lists which were independent of the fairs, had thus made themselves indispensable. Their value is also clear from the fact that the Leipzig catalog continued for some 60 years side by side with the Hinrichs lists.

The Frankfurt and Leipzig book-fairs.

There were fairs in many other towns; why should these two, Frankfurt-am-Main and Leipzig, have become of such outstanding importance in the booktrade and thus in bibliography? The reason for Frankfurt's dominating place was chiefly its geographical location, favorable not only for the trade of Germany, but for most of cultivated Europe of the time as well. The Frankfurt fair was international as long as there was an international language. The situation was quite different in the case of Leipzig. Leipzig was the natural trade center for middle and northern Germany, and was the gate toward the east. With the development of its trade, Leipzig might have become a dangerous rival of Frank-

furt even at the time of the Reformation, but for the mandate of the Catholic Herzog Georg, who on the authority of the Edict of Worms, forbade the distribution of Luther's writings in his territory. The result of this mandate and the compliance of the Leipzig council in carrying out the wishes of Herzog Georg, was that the booktrade was considerably restricted, and it was not until the death of Herzog Georg and the coming into power of Henry the Pious (Heinrich der Fromme) that evangelical literature was allowed and the attendance and trade at the fair became more lively and significant. The publishing business also increased in importance in Leipzig. That the dominant sphere of the Leipzig fair did not reach beyond Erfurt and Nürnberg in the last half of the 16th century, is explained by the fact that German Protestant literature was for the most part concentrated there. The specifically Catholic literature of south and west Germany found no profitable market there and tended to find its outlet, especially after the Thirty Years' War, in the fairs of Salzburg, Prag, Nürnberg, and other places which did not have catalogs.[1]

Leipzig was nevertheless far from being independent of the Frankfurt fair. The foremost bookdealers of Leipzig had to go to the Frankfurt fairs regularly in order to keep their important trade with the foreigners who came there. But the desire to make the Leipzig fair of equal importance with that of Frankfurt be-

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p. 754)

came more and more evident, and finally found expression in the issuing of a Leipzig Messkatalog by Henning Gross.

The Leipzig Messkataloge.

Toward the end of the 16th century the Leipzig fair increased in importance.for the booktrade, and it soon came to be a formidable rival of the Frankfurt fair. The beginning of the Leipzig Messkatalog, like that of the Frankfurt catalog, was due to the need felt by a bookseller to acquaint his patrons with the new books being published. Henning Gross, in connection with his son Friedrich, issued a catalog for the Michaelmas fair of 1594. He did not try to get an official recognition for his catalog, such as the Frankfurt catalogs had. There were various difficulties with a competitor, Abraham Lamberg, ending finally with a compromise under which both dealers issued catalogs, but when Lamberg's privilege expired, Gross continued his work. These early Leipzig Messkataloge listed the books of the Frankfurt as well as of the Leipzig fair; and like their predecessors, appeared twice a year, at the spring and the fall fairs, except that in 1637 and 1644, - during the Thirty Years' War - the two were issued together. There were also a few catalogs for the New Year's fair. For the years 1594 - 1603 the arrangement of the Leipzig catalog agreed with that of the Frankfurt one; from 1603 to 1694, the Gross catalog contained the Frankfurt catalog first, almost with no change except that in Frankfurt the Catholic books came first and in Leipzig the Protestant ones did; after that there was a list of the books which were at the Leipzig (and not at the Frankfurt) fair. These Leipzig works

came more and more evident, and finally found expression in the
issuing of a typical Messkatalog by Henning Gross.

The Leipzig Messkataloge.

Toward the end of the 16th century the Leipzig fair increased in importance for the booktrade, and it soon came to be a formidable rival of the Frankfurt fair. The beginning of the Leipzig Messkatalog, like that of the Frankfurt catalog, was due to the need felt by a bookseller to acquaint his patrons with the new books being published. Henning Gross, in connection with his son Friedrich, issued a catalog for the Michaelmas fair of 1594. He did not try to get an official recognition for his catalog, such as the Frankfurt catalog had. There were various difficulties with a competitor, Abraham Lamberg, ending finally with a compromise under which both dealers issued catalogs, but when Lamberg's privilege expired, Gross continued his work. These early Leipzig Messkataloge listed the books of the Frankfurt as well as of the Leipzig fair; and like their predecessors, appeared twice a year, at the spring and the fall fairs, except that in 1597 and 1664, - during the Thirty Years' War - the two were issued together. There were also a few catalogs for the New Year's fair. For the years 1594 - 1603 the arrangement of the Leipzig catalog agreed with that of the Frankfurt one; from 1603 to 1604, the Gross catalog contained the Frankfurt catalog first, almost with no change except that in Frankfurt the Catholic books came first and in Leipzig the Protestant ones did; after that there was a list of the books which were at the Leipzig (and not at the Frankfurt) fair. These Leipzig works

were listed without any classification until 1681; then they were arranged like the Frankfurt list. After a temporary omission (as a separate list), the Leipzig list appeared again from 1697 to 1701 - to disappear finally then. Until the Michaelmas number of 1700, the division into Latin and German works was kept; from then on, these two divisions were given under each subject, and from 1731, the list was classified but the two languages were alphabeted together. Instead of the subject classification, after 1760 the arrangement was alphabetic. Paging and prices have been given only since 1828.[1]

Influence of the Messkataloge.

Interest in the Messkatalog was not restricted to those in the booktrade; the anticipation with which each new issue was awaited and the eagerness with which it was used, are clearly shown by the frequent references in the correspondence of learned people of the time. As Kirchhoff says[2]: "Wie weit der literarische Einfluss der Messkataloge reichte lässt sich daraus ermessen, dass Paulus Manutius von einem Freunde in Rom um die Mittheilung derselben gebeten wurde". Growoll[3] mentions a number of English bookdealers who attended the Frankfurt fair, among them John Bill who published an English edition of the Frankfurt Messkataloge.

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft,v.1, footnote p.752)

2. Kirchhoff. Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2, p.31.

3. Growoll. Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography. p.18.

Collections of Messkataloge.

As a result of the wide use of the Messkataloge by scholars and booksellers, there arose a need of a collection of them covering a period of years. Such a collection was first made in 1592 by the printer Nicolaus Basse in Frankfurt. This was a "Collectio in unum corpus" of the Willer Messkataloge from 1564 to 1592. This collection is based entirely on the Messkataloge, and aims at completeness, not selection. It consists of three volumes: the first including Latin, Greek and Hebrew (636 pages), the second, German (372 pages), and the third, Italian, Spanish, and French literature of this period (62 pages).[1] Just as this was a collection of the Frankfurt Messkataloge, so the next work was a corresponding collection of the Leipzig Messkataloge, done in this case, however, by the founder of the Leipzig Messkatalog himself, Henning Gross. His Elenchus seu Index Generalis, which was published in 1600, covered a period of five years, 1594-1599 ("libri omnes, qui ultimo seculi 1500... lustro... prodierunt"). It had a Latin and a German part; the arrangement was almost exactly like that of the Leipzig Messkatalog. Although Gross claimed that his Elenchus had a wide distribution, nevertheless it has remained the only collection of the sort at Leipzig.

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2. p.301.

Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p.751)

Other works based on the Messkataloge.

In Frankfurt, however, two other bibliographical works also based on the Messkataloge appeared soon after this, works which were considered among the most important bibliographic aids even to the end of the 18th century. The first of these was Johann Cless' two-volume work, Unius seculi... ab anno 1500 ad 1602... elenchus consumatissimus. This was in two parts, one Latin with an appendix of romance languages, the other German. The arrangement is the usual one of the Messkataloge. According to its own claim, this was a great work, including an entire century and taking in more than the contents of the Messkataloge; in reality, however, it was merely a continuation of the Collectio of the Willer catalogs.[1] The second of these works based on the Messkataloge was the work of Georg Draud. It was more comprehensive and complete than the work of Cless; its basis was the Messkatalog, but the Frankfurt and the Leipzig catalogs of the autumn of 1607 had contained a request directed to all the bookdealers to to send in lists of all the books which they had for sale in their shops, and the announcement that the forthcoming work would contain also the books which were to be found in all the old libraries. It appeared in three volumes, the first including the modern foreign languages, among them Flemish and Hungarian, and called Bibliotheca exotica, published in 1610; the second, the classical languages, called Bibliotheca classica sive catalogus officinalis, 1610; and the third, the German language, called

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2, p.302.

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In Frankfurt, however, two other bibliographical works also based on the Messkatalogs appeared soon after this, works which were considered among the most important bibliographic aids even to the end of the 18th century. The first of these was Johann Clees' two-volume work, Unius seculi... ab anno 1500 ad 1602... elenchus consumatissimus. This was in two parts, one Latin with an appendix of romance languages, the other German. The arrangement is the usual one of the Messkatalogs. According to its own claim, this was a great work, including an entire century and taking in more than the contents of the Messkatalogs; in reality, however, it was merely a continuation of the Collectio of the Willer catalogs.[1] The second of these works based on the Messkatalogs was the work of Georg Draud. It was more comprehensive and complete than the work of Clees; its basis was the Messkatalog, but the Frankfurt and the Leipzig catalogs of the autumn of 1607 had contained a request directed to all the bookdealers to to send in lists of all the books which they had for sale in their shops, and the announcement that the forthcoming work would contain also the books which were to be found in all the old libraries. It appeared in three volumes, the first including the modern foreign languages, among them Flemish and Hungarian, and called Bibliotheca exotica, published in 1610; the second, the classical languages, called Bibliotheca classica sive catalogus officinalis, 1610; and the third, the German language, called

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2, p.302.

Bibliotheca librorum Germanicorum classica, published in 1611. The work is arranged alphabetically by subjects and then authors; there are many subdivisions under the main headings and in the volume on Latin titles also an appendix with a large number of additional subjects; it contains an author list. A second edition appeared in 1625 which was somewhat enlarged. Draud's catalogs were to remain for a considerable time as the high point of bibliography.

The Messkataloge were of course also the basis of a number of catalogs of special subjects, but these are not within the scope of the present paper. At the same time that the Messkataloge themselves and the other collected works based on them were appearing, the catalogs of the various publishers were also becoming more common. They were like little special Messkataloge for the individual publishers, since they listed both the complete publications of the special firm and also the items issued by others which they had procured at the fair for their trade.

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, to the Founding of the Börsenverein

The Thirty Years' War had seriously crippled the German booktrade and this effect is of course reflected in the trade bibliography. As Esdaile remarks[1], the middle centuries of German literature are imperfectly covered by bibliographies, "perhaps because the Thirty Years War devastated the country and reduced it to a state of misery and even of savagery which had few

1. Esdaile. A Student's manual of bibliography. p.314.

parallels in Western history, and which allowed of little leisure for the arts of literature". The Messkataloge continued - except the few omissions already mentioned - and there were also the various publishers' catalogs, but there were practically no attempts at collected bibliography. The booktrade had to depend on the more or less incomplete Messkataloge, on these other varied lists, and on advertisements of new books in periodicals. Nor was the 18th century much better in the aids it gave to the trade. The booktrade was going through a trying period, sometimes referred to as the "Sturm und Drang" period of the German booktrade, troubled with the questions of unauthorized reprints (or pirated editions), of trade by barter or exchange, of relations to authors, of prices and discounts.

Georgi. Allgemeines europäisches Bücherlexikon.

There is, however, a bibliography primarily made for the trade, but not for the German booktrade only; that is, Georgi's Allgemeines europäisches Bücherlexikon, published at Leipzig, 1742 - 1758. This international bibliography by the Leipzig bookseller, Theophil Georgi, is a four-volume work, "in welchem nach Ordnung des Dictionarii die allermeisten Autores oder Gattungen von Büchern zu finden, welche.. .noch vor dem Anfange des XVI. Seculi bis 1739 inclusive ... in dem Europäischen Theile der Welt, sonderlich aber in Teutschland, sind geschrieben und gedrucket worden. Bey jedem Buche sind zu finden die unterschiedenen Editiones, die Jahr-Zahl, das Format, der Ort, der Verleger, die Anzahl der Bögen und der Preiss".[1] This is then

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.2, p.321.

the first "universal" bibliography since that of Gesner; and this work by Georgi, listing over 120,000 titles, mentions the publications of Germany especially. Although Georgi's announced policy was to cover works published from the invention of printing to his own time, he was interested first of all in such books as he and his colleagues could buy and sell at the Frankfurt or Leipzig fairs. The first four volumes, arranged alphabetically by authors and titles of anonymous works, include the German and Latin works from 1450 to 1739, and this record is brought up to 1757 by the three supplementary volumes. Volume five comprises French literature from the beginnings to 1739. The first four volumes and the supplementary volumes are concerned with the "European part of the world and especially Germany" (as quoted above) and, in spite of all their omissions and mistakes, still constitute the most important bibliography of German literature of the 17th century.[1]

Heinsius. Allgemeines Bücher-lexikon.

As has been stated above, the Messkataloge gradually lost their international character. After the decline of Latin as the international language, and the increase in the use of the German language, foreign dealers came to the fairs less often, and the booktrade of the various individual countries developed independently.2 On the foundation of the Messkatalog was based

1. Arnold. Allgemeine Bücherkunde; 3. Aufl. p. 203.
2. Muehlbrecht. Die Bücherliebhaberei; 2. Aufl. p. 293.

the first of the series of national bibliographies which extend to the present day. This first one was the work of Wilhelm Heinsius (1768-1817), a bookseller of Leipzig and later of Gera. For the first edition of his Allgemeines Bücher-lexikon, which appeared in 1793, he used the general catalogs issued annually by his uncle and then by his father in their business. In 1798 a supplement appeared, and in 1812 the second edition, based on these same catalogs and the Messkataloge, came out in four volumes, covering the period from 1700 to 1810. It was of course not exhaustive; its chief significance was in the fact that it covered the whole of the 18th century in one place. This second edition is the one usually found in libraries, and is of importance, in spite of its many shortcomings, since it is the chief source for the first half of the 18th century literature in the German-speaking countries, and is especially valuable for belles-lettres of that period.[1] Succeeding volumes continued the record by periods of six, then five, and finally four years, until 1892. Within each period the arrangement is alphabetic by author or title of anonymous works. In the volumes (v.1-7) covering 1700 to 1827, there are special lists of novels and plays ("Romane; Schauspiele") arranged by titles or catch-titles in volume four, but usually by authors in volumes five to seven. In the first alphabet, there is often a reference under the author in the main list to the special list of novels or plays as the case may be, but in the later volumes, there is often no mention at all in the main list,

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.173.

merely an entry in the special list. Beginning with volume fifteen (1868-1874) there is an appendix of maps and plans. There are no indexes for the entire work.

Heinsius' introduction gives some conception of the difficulties encountered in compiling such a work as his. In spite of his ten years' work (since his earlier edition) he has constantly met all sorts of obstacles, such as those caused by the nature and chaotic condition of the German booktrade, the many and frequent changes of publishers, entailing changes in the titles and prices of books; the unreliable, incomplete, and contradictory information available; and the small number of publishers who bother to print complete and accurate lists of their publications. He explains that some inaccuracy and incompleteness is unavoidable because of the inexactness of the sources on which his work is based; and because of the existence of some works which have only a limited appeal for a short time, and never appear in a Messkatalog, publisher's catalog, or retail dealer's list, still less in a learned periodical. In his section on the plan of the work, he definitely says that plates without text, maps, music - except music textbooks - are omitted, as are also single sermons, dissertations, small local, occasional or other trivial publications which cost two "groschen" or less, unless they are by famous authors or are otherwise important or valuable. There are of course other omissions not covered by these specifications, and many inaccuracies, but the work is nevertheless of value for the earlier period.

Kayser. Vollständiges Bücher-lexikon.

About twenty-two years after the appearance of the first volumes of Heinsius' work, there appeared another work of a somewhat similar nature, but one which was more accurate and complete. It was the Vollständiges Bücher-lexikon, by Christian Gottlob Kayser. In the preface to his first volume, Kayser says that Heinsius' work has rendered substantial service, but that there are outstanding lacks and difficulties in its use; for example, the works of one author are not always brought together as they should be, but may be scattered, sometimes appearing as the work of various different authors with different forenames. All this necessarily affects the value of the work. Even the supplementary volumes remedy these lacks only incompletely, and the user is forced to spend an undue amount of time in searching for a book. In other words, the need of an adequate bibliographical guide through the maze of the rapidly growing booktrade had been only partially met by the previous attempts, and Kayser in this work now plans to do it more completely. Absolute completeness is not possible for the period which he covers in the first six volumes, 1750 - 1832, published 1834-1836, because many books which had been published since 1750 have gone out of print and so are not listed. The purpose of the work is to list for the benefit of the booktrade and bibliographers, the literary output of Germany and the neighboring German-speaking countries for the period (1750 - 1832), and give for each book the author, title, format, place, date, publisher, price, and notes of illustrations

and maps.

An earlier two-volume edition of this work had been issued under the title Deutsche Bücherkunde in Leipzig in 1825-1827, covering the period 1750 - 1823, but it is entirely superseded by the new edition, and is of no value now except for the preface by Ebert on the "Geschichte der literarischen Warenkunde".[1] In compiling his work Kayser had many of the same difficulties that Heinsius mentioned, and one gets an idea of the magnitude of the undertaking from the statement he makes that in addition to several years' preparatory work, the compiler devoted four years of 17 or 18 hours a day of intensive work to the completion of it. His plan was to list all works by a given author together under his name, even if some were issued under pseudonyms or anonymously (just as all modern bibliographers do), and to arrange authors alphabetically and their works alphabetically under the first substantive or catch-word of the title. Some modifications of the plan come to light in the actual work, however. In the case of anonymous works, for instance, the entry is under the title even if the author's name has been ascertained. At the end of the writings of an author who has also written works in the field of belles-lettres, one is referred to Romane and Schauspiele, and such works are listed there only, under the author; that is an important point in this period (1750 - 1840) since it comprises most of the classical period of German literature. In the volumes beginning with volume twenty-six for 1887- there are appendices of maps. In many respects Kayser's Vollständiges Bücher-lexikon is

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.173, footnote.

similar to Heinsius' Allgemeines Bücher-lexikon, but there was one feature, not attempted by Heinsius, which added to its value, namely, the subject index, with classified main groups and alphabetic subarrangement for the material covered in parts 1 to 6. In his preface to this index, Kayser stresses the need of a subject index, and explains the arrangement on the basis of the uses to which he expects it to be put. He had in mind two aims: 1) getting together the literature of each separate branch of knowledge, and 2) making it possible to find the individual items as easily as possible (which he says would not be done if a minute classification scheme were followed). There are no indexes for the period from 1833 to 1890, but from 1891 to the end (1910), there are again subject indexes for each period covered by a given issue. Poems, novels, etc. are arranged under these form headings alphabetically by title. Collected and general works are given at the beginning and periodicals at the end of a subject.

The booktrade in the 18th century.

The works of Heinsius and Kayser cover fairly well the period of German bibliography from 1700, but little has been said of the conditions of the booktrade during that period. These two works were done by individuals interested in the trade, but was the work to be done indefinitely by individuals in a more or less isolated fashion? It has been indicated that the trade had always had its share of difficult problems, and some were suggested. (Cf. p.26 above) It took a considerable period of time for the booktrade to recover from the devastating effects of the Thirty Years' War, but of course it finally did recover. The method of trade in general

use in the 17th century, as it had been in the 16th, was that of exchange or barter. It is strange that this primitive method of dealing should become strong in Germany when the booktrade developed so rapidly. The explanation may lie in the fact that there were few firms which restricted themselves entirely to publishing; almost all publishers were also general booksellers, partly because of the lack of the necessary large capital, and partly because of the fact that the country was split up into many states and there were differences of money and coinage, and limited areas of protection for the rights of authors and publishers. At any rate under these conditions most of the publishers were general dealers and exchange offered the easiest and least risky method of distribution of their own publications and building up their stock of the books of other publishers. Most of the business in exchange by the principal dealers was carried on at the fairs, and it is obvious that such dealers were very careful in the choice of business friends with whom they would make exchanges. It seems strange to think of dealing in books by bales of specified sizes rather than by copies. Although this method seemed clear and simple, it had within itself the seeds of its own ruin. Barter can be carried on only on the basis of things of equivalent value, and the value of books could not be merely reckoned on the cost of production; then as now there were books which were in demand and other books for which there was no market. The system was not in favor with foreign dealers. During the Thirty Years' War when the quality of both paper and printing was poor in Germany, and both were excellent in Holland (where the Elzeviers were at the time at the head of the book business), the rate of exchange for Ger-

man books of great intrinsic worth was only in the proportion of 1:3 or 1:4.[1] A certain amount of unfairness and cheating cropped out, and the chief difficulty arose from ~~the~~ trying to get rid of unmarketable books. It came to be customary to have auctions and lotteries in order to dispose of these worthless books.

The weaknesses of this exchange trade were especially noticeable in Leipzig. At Leipzig there were the university and other schools of importance, and there were of course many famous scholars and authors and a number of important publishers. These publishers tried to bind the most popular authors to them by paying high royalties, and, especially after the decline of the Dutch booktrade in the 18th century, had a flourishing business. The extra expenses of the high fees to authors and the cost of equipment, caused them to raise their prices and to restrict themselves more and more to the publishing side of the business, while the retail trade became less and less profitable. Under these conditions the exchange method did not work well; the dealers therefore gave up exchange and did business on a cash basis or a six-months' credit plan. There were loud protests and objections to this plan and threats of reprisal through pirated editions, etc., on the part of many book dealers throughout the country. The Leipzig publishers remained obdurate, however, trying to strengthen their position by means of a sort of trade association among themselves, and succeeding in getting some government protection against unauthorized reprints. The result of all this was a serious split

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p.761)

in the booktrade between north and south Germany, with little hope of any possible reconciliation. The southern group (die Reichsbuchhändler) carried out their threats of pirating editions, and so forced down the prices of the original editions of the works reprinted. Their success was of short duration, however, for the number of books which would appeal to a wide audience and would therefore make such mass reprinting profitable, was really small, and the material which had a limited appeal was generally unmarketable. It happened that the south German booksellers sometimes found that the pirated edition was a drug on their market, and the prices for these occasionally rose even above the original prices. It began to be clear that the battle against Leipzig might ruin their own trade. The solution was finally found in a system called the "Konditionssystem",[1] which provided for the trade in new books on an exchange basis, with the privilege of the bookseller's returning to Leipzig the ones that he could not sell within a definite period, and allowing a discount of thirty-three and a third percent on those which were sold. Settlements were to be made at the Easter fair. This new system put the booktrade on a new and sounder basis. The general dealer came to be a distributor of new books at fixed prices, and a new branch of the trade grew up to take care of the older books, that is, the "Antiquariatshandel" or the second-hand trade. While the new system tended toward some separation of publisher and general dealer, there was no sharp division between

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, v.1, p. 764-765)

the two and the tendency was toward an organic unity in the whole trade.

At this time there came about a considerable change in the fairs. Since it was no longer necessary for a dealer to arrange for exchange of stock with other dealers, his business at the fair could be conducted by an agent, who took care of all the details. The Michaelmas fair was attended almost entirely by these representatives, and by 1824 was scarcely attended at all.[1] The Easter fair was the time for settlement of accounts, and the dealers did so far as possible attend at that time in person. It was a process of some length, since the bookseller had to go around to all the individual houses or hired headquarters of the business associates with whom he had an account to settle. There was some question as to whether this trip to the fair was worth the trouble under the new conditions, but as Kuhnert says[1]: "it was certainly not only the old tradition or the inadequacy of the Messkatalog that drew the booksellers to Leipzig, but the conviction that only through a lasting personal cooperation could the organic unification of the booktrade be further developed". Gradually a need for a general meeting place for doing business at Leipzig was felt and was supplied by the use of various auditoriums, called during the fairs "Buchhändlerbörse", (although objections were made by some of the Leipzig dealers that it was not as convenient as their own places of business and necessitated too much publicity). Some years later a permanent building was

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft,v.1, p.769)

erected for the "Börse".

Although the "Konditionssystem" had been an improvement over the earlier conditions, it too had its weaknesses. In the transition period near the beginning of the 19th century, various booksellers were complaining that their business was dwindling, and that they would even like to go back to the exchange system. This situation was due to the fact that while production had increased, the number of booksellers (encouraged by the minimized risk in starting a new business under this system) had increased even more. To add to their sales some dealers resorted to underselling, and there was still difficulty with pirated editions.

The founding of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler.

Since no certain and immediate help could be expected against these bad practices from outside sources, the reform had to come from the booktrade itself, and could be accomplished only by a powerful organization within the trade. The outstanding dealers of the time realized this and there were various meetings for the purpose of reform from 1802 on, but the Napoleonic wars interfered considerably with the German booktrade, and it was not until after the battle of Leipzig that it recovered. Then there were more attempts at collective action and much discussion of the problem of copyright. Outside of Leipzig the desire for the founding of a booksellers' association was growing more and more insistent, an association in which members should limit their business to members, deny any discount to non-members, refrain from making and selling unauthorized reprints, and introduce a strict supervision over the trade. Such an association seemed

possible only by means of the booksellers' exchange (Börse). The election committee worked on the plan and announced to the general assembly of booksellers on May 16, 1824, that the plan was to take over the Börse founded by K. C. Horvath, and form an association of all German bookdealers, to which everyone belonged who submitted to the rules of the exchange. The board of directors should be made up of the Leipzig and the outside deputies. Debate on the plan was to be omitted; some propositions would be presented within two weeks in writing to the deputies; the rough plan of a set of association regulations was to be printed within three months.[1]

The promised set of regulations failed to materialize, however. It therefore happened that the founding of the association was carried out by another unofficial means. For about two years there had been discussion, with the approval of the Bavarian ministry, of the procuring of a south German center of the booktrade at Nürnberg. The developments at Leipzig changed their plans, but the leader, Friedrich Campe, was unwilling that the founding of the general association should depend on the help of the Leipzig men who had been so unwilling to cooperate in the starting of the exchange. He wanted it to be started by those outside Leipzig. The result was that in 1825, the election committee was set aside, a new committee was chosen, and the following plan for association was presented; the Börse (exchange) founded by the outside booksellers, should be a public institution belonging to the general

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft. v.1, p.775)

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The election committee worked on the plan and announced to the general assembly of booksellers on May 15, 1824, that the plan was to take over the Börse founded by K. G. Göschen, and form an association of all German booksellers, to which everyone belonged who submitted to the rules of the exchange. The board of directors should decide as of the Leipzig and the outside exchanges. Debate on the plan was to be omitted; some propositions would be presented within two weeks in writing to the deputies; the rough plan of a set of association regulations was to be printed within three months.[1]

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1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Nilken, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft. v.1, p.779)

corporation, and every reputable bookdealer should be entitled to membership. The directors should consist of the chairman, the secretary and the treasurer; their duties among others should consist of stopping abuses, administering the regulations, and so far as possible representing the interests of the booktrade. On the 30th of April, 1825, these regulations were signed by ninety-nine firms, six of Leipzig, and ninety-three outside firms, of whom seventy were of north and east Germany and twenty-nine of south Germany. The Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler was thus established, Campe was elected president, and the "Sturm und Drang" period of the German booktrade was over.[1]

Considerable emphasis has been place on the founding of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler because from the early part of its history it has taken an active part in bibliographical undertakings, and this bibliographical activity has increased to such an extent that at the present time the bibliographies issued under the auspices of the Börsenverein form the backbone - or one might say the whole body - of current German national bibliography. This growth in bibliographical work is a more or less recent development, however. Except for the Börsenblatt (which will be discussed below) the Börsenverein did little direct bibliographical publishing until 1916.

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft. v.1, p.776)

The Bibliographical Work of the J.C. Hinrichs Firm.

The Halbjahrskatalog.

The official bibliographies of the German booktrade were issued for many years by the firm of J.C. Hinrichs. The firm was founded in 1791 by A.L. Reinicke of Leipzig. In 1796 Johann Conrad Hinrichs of Harburg became his partner - and later also his brother-in-law. For five years the firm name was Reinicke and Hinrichs; from 1801 Hinrichs continued the work alone under his own name. In July 1798 he issued the first volume of the Halbjahrskatalog. His object as stated there was to offer a complete list of the books which really appeared from one fair to the next, with names of publishers and correct prices, and so to fulfill an often expressed wish of many bookdealers and scholars. His catalog, which was more complete and appeared more promptly than the Messkataloge or the catalogs of single firms, found a ready sale and soon grew to an edition of 5000.[1] The title of the first Halbjahrskatalog was: "Verzeichnis neuer Bücher, die seit Michaelis 1797 bis Juli 1798 wirklich erschienen sind, nebst Verlegern, Preissen und einen wissenschaftlichen Repertorium, welche bei Reinicke und Hinrichs, Buchhändler in Leipzig auf der Grimmischen Gasse no.608 zu bekommen sind. (Preise 8 gr.) 1798."[2]

After Hinrichs' death, the business was carried on by his widow and others. Frau Hinrichs' nephew, C.F. Adolf Rost, built

1. Halbjahrsverzeichnis. v.200, p.[3]

2. Growoll. Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography, facsimile opposite p.12 (A copy of the first number was not available)

up the bibliographical side of the business of the firm. Beginning with 1819, the principle was adopted which has given such a high degree of reliability to the Hinrichs bibliographies, that is, to pay no more attention to mere notes of new books, but to list titles only after having seen the books themselves. The various Leipzig official and unofficial book-fair catalogs which the Halbjahrsverzeichnis was intended to supersede, were more or less incomplete and often listed many books that were announced but not published. "The pernicious custom of inserting in the book-fair catalogues the titles of books not yet printed was practiced early, and often gave rise to much bitter discussion and bad feeling. How annoying this practice was, especially to the foreign bookseller, may be judged from the following letter, dated July 18,1653, addressed by James Allestrye, an English bookseller, to one of his patrons: 'I perceive you have been at much pains to transcribe out of the Frankfurt catalogue divers books you desire, and I am sorry I cannot send them; but it is a very usual thing for the booksellers of Germany to send the titles of books to be put in the catalogue before they are printed, so that at present they are not to be had'."[1] Although it sometimes meant a delay in listing a given title, the strict rule of the Hinrichs firm was of great value in establishing a bibliography of the books which had actually been published.

Another new and strong point in the Halbjahrskatalog was the fact that it was the only German bibliography which gave full

1. Growoll. Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography. p.15-16.

1. Growoll. Three centuries of English booktrade bibliography. p.12-13.

titles of books. The catalog was divided into two parts, the alphabetical author list and the subject index. The earliest issue available at the Boston Public Library was the one for the first half of 1821, and in this issue - which is itself a small volume - the subject index (Wissenschaftliches Repertorium) consists of about ten pages, classified by subject, each subject having a single paragraph, and giving for each book so listed only the author's last name and the page in the main author list. The note at the front of the volume spoke with pride of the regular appearance of the catalog, the ever increasing favor with which it was received, and the not unworthy part its 7000 copies, sent to all corners of the world in which German is spoken, had in the distribution of the most up-to-date German literature. Since 1890 the index lists every title twice, once under catch-title (Stichwort) and again under subject in the classified section, which is arranged in 130 divisions. From 1913 to 1915 the index included ordinary title entries as well as the catch-title entries. Schneider remarks that in 1916 they gave up this "fussy" and confusing method".[1] Since 1916 the Halbjahrsverzeichnis has been published by the Börsenverein and the arrangement is like that of the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis (to be described below) for which it now forms the basis.

In addition to the evidence of this first general bibliography of the Hinrichs company, it is clear that the firm was striving to serve the booktrade in general through its publishing

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.174.

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.174.

activity, for there is still in existence, in manuscript form, a plan, dated 1799, of a weekly Leipzig bookdealers' periodical, which was to contain, among other things: complete notices of the most recent writings, without critical comment; notices of original works and translations which would appear at the next fair; questions and matters of interest to the booktrade; news of auctions; information of the contents of such writings as were too rare and costly to be within the reach of every dealer; changes of business, obituaries, and other news. Most of these points are now a part of the regular program of the Börsenblatt. That did not begin until 1834, and it is not clear why the plans put forth thirty-five years before did not materialize at the time.[1]

The Hinrichs firm started a monthly bibliography in 1832 called the Monatliches alphabetisches Verzeichniss der neu erschienenen Bücher, etc., but it did not find sufficient sale and was discontinued after a year.

The bibliographical list in the Börsenblatt,

Number five of the first year (1834) of the Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel contains the first "Verzeichniss von Neuigkeiten vom 19.-25. Januar, in Leipzig angekommen und mitgeteilt von der J. C. Hinrichsschen Buchhandlung". Thus the Hinrichssche Buchhandlung immediately became the official bibliographical publisher for the Börsenverein. In December, an urgent request was made to all German book firms to send in, to the Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, a copy of all new books published by

1. Halbjahrsverzeichniss. v.200. p.4.

them and new editions, whole works, and single parts immediately after they were published, for insertion in the bibliographical section of the Börsenblatt. The Börsenblatt had been founded by the Leipzig bookdealers' club (Der Leipziger Buchhändlerverein) but was taken over by the Börsenverein in 1835.[1]

The Wöchentliches Verzeichnis.

The Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung did not start the official weekly list of new publications which continues to the present, but published it for so many years that it must be listed as one of their chief bibliographical undertakings. In 1842, according to the statement in the Halbjahrsverzeichnis[2], the Hinrichs firm began their Wöchentliches Verzeichnis; the date is however definitely given by Arnold[3] as 1843 (not 1842), and Schneider[4] says: "jg. 1 für 1843". At any rate in 1843 it was united with two other publications: 1) the Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland, which had been issued by Brockhaus (the firm of encyclopaedia fame) 1836-1842, which had in turn superseded the Bibliographie für Deutschland, 1826-1835; and 2) de Marles' Wöchentliches litterarisches Anzeigeblatt. The title was then changed to Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland. It was published

1. Kuhnert. Geschichte des Buchhandels. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft. v.1. p.779)

2. Halbjahrsverzeichnis. v.200. p.6.

3. Arnold. Allgemeine Bücherkunde; 3.Aufl. p.211.

4. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl.p.174.

under this title until 1893, when the title was changed back to Wöchentliches Verzeichnis der erschienenen und der vorbereiteten Neuigkeiten des deutschen Buchhandels. This was its title as long as it was published by Hinrichs, and for several years after - until 1931 when the scope and general policy were also changed. The weekly series then goes back to 1826, but it has been of more general usefulness since 1843, the year of this amalgamation made by the Hinrichs company. The list is in general a cumulation of the daily list in the Börsenblatt, but new editions of schoolbooks and of the more unimportant literature are omitted.[1] It was at first arranged alphabetically by author, but beginning with 1871, the arrangement had been classified, under from seventeen to twenty-seven or twenty-eight broad headings, with alphabetic sub-arrangement and an alphabetic author and catch-title index. Announcement of forthcoming books are listed in fine print at the end of each class. Since 1893 there has been also a separate monthly alphabetic index, cumulating the weekly ones, and giving for each entry the number of the weekly issue in which the work is described and the number of the group or class under which it is listed. There is of course no necessity for an annual index since the Halbjahrsverzeichnis serves that purpose. The changes since 1931 will be discussed below in connection with the present bibliographical activities of the Börsenverein.

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.174.

The Vierteljahrskatalog.

In connection with the Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland, Hinrichs published in 1843-1845 a monthly list arranged by subject, and from this monthly there developed in 1846 the Vierteljahrskatalog der Neuigkeiten des deutschen Buchhandels. For the first year there was an annual index, but after that there was merely an alphabetic index in each quarterly number. The information given for each entry is about the same as that given in the Wöchentliches Verzeichnis. The Vierteljahrskatalog ceased publication in the summer of 1914.

Hinrichs Katalog (Fünfjahrskatalog).

The last and most comprehensive bibliographical undertaking of the Hinrichs firm was the publication of the Hinrichs Katalog. This work had been started in 1856, for the period 1851 - 1855, by Albrecht Kirchhoff under the title: "Albrecht Kirchhoff's Bücher-Katalog: Verzeichniss der in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts im deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Bücher und Landkarten". Kirchhoff says in the preface to the first volume, that since there are already works in this field - Heinsius and Kayser - an explanation is necessary to justify the starting of a new one. He makes the point that these other two catalogs try to serve two masters, the demands of the booktrade, and the stricter and more far-reaching demands of the professional bibliographers. The resultant great minuteness of detail slows up the work so that volumes do not come out until two or three years after the end of the period covered and of course increases the cost. Hinrichs semi-annual catalogs are bibliographically exact,

The Viertaljahrskatalog.

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Hinrichs Katalog (Jahrjahrskatalog).

The last and most comprehensive bibliographical undertaking of the Hinrichs firm was the publication of the Hinrichs Katalog. This work had been started in 1856, for the period 1851 - 1855, by Albrecht Kirchhoff under the title: "Albrecht Kirchhoff's Bücher-Katalog: Verzeichnisse der in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Bücher und Landkarten". Kirchhoff says in the preface to the first volume, that since there are already works in this field - Heinsius and Kayser - an explanation is necessary to justify the starting of a new one. He makes the point that these other two catalogs try to serve two masters, the demands of the booktrade, and the stricter and more far-reaching demands of the professional bibliographers. The resultant great minuteness of detail slows up the work so that volumes do not come out until two or three years after the end of the period covered and of course increases the cost. Hinrichs semi-annual catalogs are bibliographically exact,

he says, but a reference catalog which would cover five years would be much easier to use than the ten separate semi-annual lists. The object of his catalog is then to give the bookdealer (he is one himself) the necessary comprehensive information cheaply and promptly. His catalog is to appear regularly every five years within six or seven months after the close of the period covered.

In 1862 the Hinrichs company acquired this catalog of Kirchhoff's and continued it under the title: "Hinrichs' Fünfjähriger Bücher-Catalog" etc. In 1875 a cumulated edition of the first three volumes appeared as Hinrichs Bücher-Catalog, 1851-65. There have been several changes of title, but little change in policy. It has covered periods of five years until 1906; then the name was changed to Hinrichs Katalog and it covered 1906-1909; and in the last issue, 1910-1912. It is an alphabetic author list, with a subject index since 1886. There have really been indexes since 1857, though the early ones were not done under the direct supervision of the Hinrichs firm. Adolf Büchting issued the first: "Repertorium über die nach den halbjährlichen Verzeichnissen der J.C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung in Leipzig in den Jahren 1857-1861 erschienenen Bücher, Landkarten &c; nach den Wissenschaften geordnet. Nordhausen, 1863"; with a second edition in 1867; and succeeding volumes covering the years 1862-70. This was continued by Eduard Baldamus' Repertorium, which covered the years 1871-1885. These earlier "repertorien" were classified;the indexes since 1886 have been alphabetic by subject.

The Hinrichs firm thus during the last half of the 19th cen-

tury was issuing a very complete set of bibliographies of the works appearing in the German booktrade. On the basis of the daily list made for the Börsenblatt, they compiled the weekly list of the Wöchentliches Verzeichnis; that in turn served as a basis of the quarterly Vierteljahrskatalog; the next cumulation was the Halbjahrsverzeichnis, and on this was based the five-yearly Hinrichs Katalog. At the same time, the volumes of Heinsius and Kayser were coming out at intervals of about five years. It seems strange that all three of these lists could go on together for such a long period until one realizes the reason: while each one covered as a rule about five years in one issue, no two of them appeared the same year or covered exactly the same period (for example, one issue of Heinsius covered the publications of the years 1880-1884; the corresponding volume of Hinrichs the years 1881-1885, and that of Kayser, 1883-1886)

Supplementary works issued by others.

Although the list of new publications would seem to be completely recorded in these three great "Mehrjahrsverzeichnisse", there are two other publications which act as supplementary works. One is Karl Georg's Schlagwort-katalog; Verzeichnis der Bücher und Landkarten in sachlicher Anordnung. Hannover, 1889-1913. This subject index covers 1883-1912 in seven volumes, each covering several years, and is arranged within volumes alphabetically by subject. It is based for the most part on the Hinrichs semi-annual list until 1888, but after that also on other sources.[1]

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4.Aufl. p.177.

Novels, plays, and children's books are grouped under headings like "Romane" etc. alphabetically by titles or catch-titles until 1902; after that under the one heading "Unterhaltungsliteratur" (freely, books for pleasure reading). There is an author index for 1908-1910 and for 1910-1912. Schneider says that although this bibliography was superseded in 1913 by the Hinrichs semi-annual index, it really was superior to that index in convenience and in comprehensiveness.[1]

Another supplementary work is by Gustav Thelert (whose real name is August Hettler) and is entitled:

"Supplement zu Heinsius', Hinrichs' u. Kaysers Bücher-Lexikon: Verzeichniss einer Anzahl Schriften, welche seit der Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland erschienen, in den genannten Katalogen aber garnicht oder fehlerhaft aufgeführt sind; mit bibliographischen Bermerkungen. Grossenhain und Leipzig, Baumer & Ronge, 1893."

This work is arranged alphabetically by author (or title, if there is no author) and is especially valuable for theses, etc., which have appeared in the booktrade since 1850.

A work which was not really a supplement to the lists mentioned above, but was also valuable to the bookbuyer, is Russell, Adolph. Buch- und Kunst-Katalog: Gesammt-Verlags-Katalog des deutschen Buchhandels: ein Bild deutscher Geistesarbeit und Cultur; vollständig bis Ende 1880. Münster, 1881-94. Although the title says that it is complete through 1880, the later volumes

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.178.

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1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.178.

include books to 1890. The purpose of this catalog was to bring together in one place the information given in many publishers' individual catalogs, and so aid the bookseller. The books listed in a publisher's catalog at a given time are of course the ones he has on hand for sale at that time, and the general lists such as those previously discussed must often be supplemented by such catalogs. The gathering of the information from all these individual ones was of course a tremendous aid to the bookdealers. The arrangement was as follows: volumes 1-11, Germany; 12, Austria;13, Vienna; 14, Switzerland; 15, other countries which were in direct intercourse with the German booktrade, alphabetically by country; 16, additions and corrections. Within the volumes the arrangement was first by cities, then publishers, and finally by authors. Volume 0 (the last one issued) gives a general list of firms, but there is no general author and title index, and for this reason, says Schneider[1], the work loses its chief value and is no longer of any great significance.

The place of this kind of work has been taken since 1904 by the catalogs issued by the firm of Koehler & Volckmar. These catalogs were issued annually before the war, and since then have appeared somewhat irregularly - 1920, 1924, 1928, 1930, with a supplement to April 1931. They do not aim to give a complete list of all the books in print at the given date (i.e. the books which can be obtained directly from the publishers) but the list is extensive. These lists were originally intended only for

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliography; 4. Aufl. p.178.

booksellers but since 1907, a special edition has been issued for the public, which leaves out all the notices intended only for the trade, called the Literaturkatalog. Its title now is the Deutscher Literaturkatalog. The list is arranged alphabetically by author, with a separate list for music, and has, for some volumes, at least, a subject and catch-title index. Information is rather brief and is given in a tabular form. The catalog is especially good to use if one wishes to know the price of a book, but does not know the date of publication. It also gives code words for ordering books, which must be procured as quickly as possible.

Other firms also issued general lists of interest to the trade. One of wide scope was the Allgemeine Bibliographie: monatliches Verzeichnis der wichtigern neuen Erscheinungen der deutschen und ausländischen Literatur, issued from 1856 to 1915 by Brockhaus. This was issued in foreign editions under the titles: Brockhous' Monthly list, and Bibliographie universelle.[1] Although its title gives one to understand that it is a general, rather than a national list, it is basically German with a selection of the current new works published in other countries including Belgium, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Holland, Italy, Greece, North America, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Hungary, and even some Slavic and oriental literature. The arrangement of the monthly number was by classes, subarranged alphabetically. The detail about a given entry is fairly full: author, title, place and date of publication, illustrations, format, German price, and sometimes notes on contents or date of first edition, etc. The Brockhaus

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.51,footnote.

firm thus tried to give to the trade a list of the most important works published in Germany and elsewhere.[1] Its work in connection with the weekly list, Allgemeine Bibliographie für Deutschland, which was taken over by Hinrichs in 1843 has already been mentioned.

There have been various other periodical bibliographies or periodicals concerned with bibliography, some of them with no immediate connection with publishing or bookselling firms, but of course of interest to such firms. Examples of works of this kind are: Das Archiv: bibliographische Wochenschrift; hrsg. von Philipp Stein, which was issued from 1888 to 1890, and which tried to give information concerning the new publications, both books and outstanding periodical articles, in classified arrangement, and included also longer signed articles and reviews; and Petzholdt's Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft, 1840 - 1886, which likewise gave reviews, etc.

The Bibliographical Activities of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler

Though for many years the J. C. Hinrichs firm was the official publisher for the Börsenverein, and issued the remarkably complete list of current bibliographies already described, during the last twenty years the Börsenverein has gradually taken over these works and in some cases has considerably changed the policy of the publications involved. Possibly one of the reasons why the

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v. 4. p.356.

trade organization has been so active in shaping the general policy as regards such questions, for example, as those of copyright, is that Germany has had political unity for such a comparatively short time, and government regulations have varied from state to state. Even since the political unification of Germany the separate states have had considerable internal autonomy. One result of all this was that there was never a single central legal deposit of books, such as that in France, at the Bibliothèque Nationale. "Each state library has the right to the books produced in that State, the Royal Library of Berlin, as it was, obtaining it (the legal deposit), in imitation of the French, in the late seventeenth century."[1]

The Deutsche Bücherei: its founding and purpose.

This lack of a central deposit has long been felt as a serious handicap by German scholars and bookdealers, and various plans to remedy the situation have been suggested. The final result was the establishing of the Deutsche Bücherei (German library) at Leipzig, by the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. This library receives the voluntary deposit of all books and periodicals published in Germany and those in the German language published in other countries. The collection began with the first of January, 1913, and includes not only books in the booktrade, but also government documents, society publications, and books privately printed. With the exception of music and political daily newspapers, the collection is as complete for works pub-

1. Esdaile. A student's manual of bibliography. p.314.

lished since 1913 as is humanly possible. The collection now contains about 1,100,000 volumes.[1] Since the value of this library depends on the completeness of its collection, and since this completeness is registered in the bibliographies prepared at the library, it is to the advantage of all publishers to send in a copy of every publication.

Besides the collection and preservation of this material, one of the chief functions of the Deutsche Bücherei is to compile the regular current bibliographies for the Börsenverein, and also various special ones. Since the books are deposited immediately at the Deutsche Bücherei, it is the logical place in which to compile the current bibliographies. It has therefore developed into the center of German bibliography and compiles the system of current German bibliographical which will be discussed below.

Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel.

The Börsenverein has taken over the bibliographical section of the Börsenblatt which was formerly compiled by the Hinrichs company, so that now this is the basic work of the bibliographical division of the Börsenverein at the Deutsche Bücherei. The Börsenblatt has been mentioned above in connection with the bibliographical work of the Hinrichs company; however, since it is the official trade paper of the Börsenverein, this is perhaps the place for a fuller description of it. It was founded in 1834, and taken over in 1835 by the Börsenverein. It appeared at first weekly, then (1837) twice a week, after 1852 three times a week, and

1. Uhlendahl. Auskunftserteilung. (In Milkau, Fritz, ed. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft. v.2. p.446)

finally, since 1867, it has been a daily.

In connection with the celebration of the centenary (in 1933) of the founding of the Börsenblatt, an article appeared in the Publishers' weekly, which gave a brief summary of the paper's history.[1] It will be of interest to summarize or quote parts of this article. One of the earliest regulations was that "the paper was not to be sold but distributed gratis to the booksellers. The firm of A. Frohberger was commissioned with the first printing and a sample number was printed by Breitkopf and Haertel on December 5, 1833. The first number actually appeared on Friday, January 3, 1834. It contained eight pages of quarto size and was edited by Otto August Schulz who outlined his editorial policy at that time as follows: it was not only to be of aid and benefit to the entire German booktrade but it was also to contain 'instructive entertainment in order to retain and increase the interest of the reader'. It was further to contain all notices from the committee of the German booktrade 'Boerse', the statutes of the same, commercial and technical information as well as historical and statistical material".

The Börsenblatt had numerous forerunners which first appeared towards the end of the 17th century. The more important ones were: "one published in Hamburg from 1778-85, one in Leipzig from 1780-82, and one which was a bit more long-lived entitled 'A General Typographic Monthly Journal for Germany' which was issued in Weimar from 1811-1833".

1. K[illegible]p. Germany's great trade paper. (In Publishers' weekly, v.123, p.835-36)

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1. Kap. Germany's great trade paper. (In Publishers' weekly, v.123, p.835-36)

There are three divisions of the Börsenblatt as it now appears: first the text or editorial section, second the bibliographical, and third the announcement and advertisement section. The second part is chiefly a list of the recent publications, arranged at first alphabetically by author, later by publisher, and giving a full bibliographical description of each item, and supplemented by a monthly list of new books arranged by authors.[1] Even as early as 1835 this section also included a list of recent new books published in foreign countries. In addition to the list of current new books in each number, there are other lists, as continuations of serials and periodicals; new works in the music trade (usually appearing weekly); works which have appeared in the foreign booktrade (weekly); newly published aids for the bookdealers; new periodicals and periodical publications; new publications of the German art trade (monthly); the translations of German works which have been published in foreign countries (appearing occasionally).

As to the advertising part of the paper, Küp in the article mentioned above, says that the advertisements "contain much of literary, scientific and cultural importance. Material which the book dealer in Germany had formerly secured but twice a year at the Leipzig book fairs, is now brought to him daily. It is truly an accurate mirror of the booktrade." A feature which has been added more recently is the column of "books for sale" and "books wanted" for the second-hand trade. Besides the annual one, there

1. Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler. Historische Kommission. Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. v.4, p.340-341.

have been two general indexes, one for 1834-58 and one for 1859-1868.[1]

Since 1844 the Börsenblatt has included order blanks which the booksellers clip out and use in ordering the new books; beginning with 1895 a colored order form was added for ordering older publications and staple stock, and when, on account of the war, the proper paper could not be procured, the two kinds were distinguished by square and round corners. Although there have previously been restrictions making it impossible or very expensive for a private individual not connected with the booktrade to subscribe to the Börsenblatt, it is now possible except that the edition he receives will not contain these order forms. This is because since 1930 the net or publishers' prices appear not in the body of the paper but only on the order forms.

The gradual change mentioned above from a weekly issue to a daily shows the lively demand for the Börsenblatt, and this is also shown by the increase in the size of the edition. There were 750 copies of the first issue printed; twelve years later the edition had increased to 1250 and after that it kept increasing rapidly until in 1923 it reached the 7000 mark, and in 1933 the average circulation was 6600.

Deutsche Nationalbibliographie.

In 1916, the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler took over the publication of the Wöchentliches Verzeichnis, which had been issued for so many years by Hinrichs. The methods and policy re-

1. Schneider. Handbuch der Bibliographie; 4. Aufl. p.176-177.

mained practically unchanged, however, until the beginning of the year 1931. Then changes of the widest import were instituted. The introduction to the first issue of 1931 gives the plan of the work. "Booktrade bibliography, as the name implies, is concerned with only a part of German literature, an essential part, of course. The writings, not to be underrated on account of their number and significance, which appear outside the booktrade, have not hitherto been listed in any bibliographical list, although such a list has often been desired by the trade, the libraries, and the general scientific world." The reason for this lack may perhaps be that the Germans are scattered; only sixty-three of the ninety-five millions who speak German live in Germany itself. If there have been difficulties in securing complete records of the publications in the booktrade from the various states, how much more difficult it would have been to get those of publications which have not appeared in the booktrade! Formerly, likewise, there was no central place where such a project could be undertaken, but since the founding of the Deutsche Bücherei that difficulty has been overcome. Since the organization has now been growing and developing for about twenty years, the time seems ripe to undertake this new work, that is, a real national bibliography.

This national bibliography will appear in two separate parts, Section A, which will include the new publications in the booktrade, and will thus continue the Wöchentliches Verzeichnis; and Section B, which will list new publications that do not appear in the booktrade. In general there will be few changes in the weekly

list: the form of the entries will follow the rules for the alphabetic catalogs of Prussian libraries, which are in general use in German libraries; the Roman type will be used altogether, books printed in Gothic type being indicated by a special symbol; the classified arrangement will be kept, but the classes reduced to twenty-four; and in addition to the monthly index, there will be bi-monthly and quarterly indexes. Actually the value of the bi-monthly index was not great enough to justify the cost, and it was given up after about a year. Section B is to include writings which do not appear in the booktrade: official documents of Germany, Austria, and other German-speaking states; theses, etc., of Germany and foreign German-speaking countries; publications of clubs, learned societies, unions; and industrial and trade publications; family histories, etc.; bibliophile writings and other privately printed books. It is not to include music, art books without accompanying text, price lists and such publications as have no scientific or literary character, or publications issued before 1930. The arrangement, like that of Section A, is to be classified, and subarranged alphabetically. The arrangement according to the source - government, society, school, etc. - would be of less value, because there are lists, at least for Germany itself, of some of these kinds of material (e.g. "Jahresverzeichnis der an den deutschen Universitäten and Hochschulen erschienenen Schriften", since 1885; and the "Monatliches Verzeichnis der reichsdeutschen amtlichen Druckschriften", compiled at the Deutsche Bücherei since 1928). Section B is to appear twice a month, with an index at the end of the month; these indexes cumulate quarterly

and annually. (An annual index for Section A is of course unnecessary on account of the Halbjahrsverzeichnis.) With the exception of the announced bi-monthly index this program has been successfully carried out up to the present.

Halbjahrsverzeichnis.

The Halbjahrsverzeichnis has been issued by the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler since 1916. Since it was described above, and the form and arrangement have changed very little, there is no need to repeat the description here. It now forms the basis for the new five-year list, the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis.

Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis.

Since 1700 there has been a fairly complete record of German publications given in catalogs which covered periods of years, in the later parts, periods of about five years, Heinsius, Kayser, and Hinrichs. With the founding of the Deutsche Bücherei, came the opportunity to work out the plan of freeing German bibliography from the limitations of a private undertaking. Since it was the duty of the Deutsche Bücherei to collect and list all the books and periodicals published in German countries and writings in the German language in other countries, this of course formed an excellent basis for German bibliography, and it was therefore, according to the preface to the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis, "the desire of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler to get into its hands so far as possible the existing bibliographical undertakings and to fuse them into a unified whole". A beginning was made in 1914 with the acquiring of Kayser's Allgemeines Bücherlexikon. In the following year the Börsenverein came to an agreement with the

Hinrichs company about the purchase of their bibliographical undertakins, and finally also acquired the Georg Schlagwort-katalog. Immediately after acquiring the Kayser catalog, the Börsenverein had formed a bibliographical division in order to continue the work on the volumes already begun. The Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis takes the place of Kayser's Allgemeines Bücher-lexikon, the Hinrichs "Mehrjahrskataloge" (i.e. catalogs covering several years), and the Georg Schlagwortkatalog. The bibliographical division of the Börsenverein has been working on it since 1914 and some of those engaged in the work have worked on the older undertakings for years (in other words, the Börsenverein secured the services of some of the bibliographers and workers who had formerly worked on these other bibliographies). The preface announces that, in doing the work, the greatest stress has been put on the "three most essential characteristics of a good bibliography: accuracy, completeness, and clearness". It is interesting to note that the year in which this work was first undertaken was the first year of the World War. The preface to the first volume (published in 1916) goes on to say that they have striven for uniformity and have preserved it as far as war times would allow. The call to army service robbed the undertaking of well-trained people; they had to be replaced by others who first had to be trained; on account of this the continuity and evenness of the work suffered a little. There were added difficulties on account of the price changes caused by the war. The first volume followed the conservative example of Kayser's catalog for the most part.

The first section of each issue of the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis, then, is an alphabetic author list of the works published within its period, like Kayser and Hinrichs. It gives the following bibliographical detail about each book: author, title, edition, place, publisher, date, number of volumes or paging, illustrations, size, note of series (if the book belongs to a series), price, and occasional contents notes. This description is of course based on that given in the Halbjahrsverzeichnis, which in turn goes back to the weekly and daily lists.

The second part is the index. In the preface to the first "Stich- und Schlagwort register", 1911-1914, it says that "it appears as a continuation of: Georg's Schlagwortkatalog, Hinrichs' index volumes for several years, and the indexes to Kayser's catalog, without being the immediate successor to any one of these three bibliographies". Titles are listed sometimes by catchword, sometimes by subject, and often by both. The catchword entry is found chiefly in the case of fiction, plays, etc., and is generally entry under the first substantive. The subject entries are distinguished by being put in bold-faced type, with subdivisions in italics. The information about a book listed under the subject is almost as full as that given in the first part under the author; only for such information as the series, etc., would one ordinarily have to turn to the author volume. It also gives lists of publishers with their addresses and any changes.

After the first issue which covered the period 1911-1914, the Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis has appeared regularly every five

years. It forms the culmination of the system of bibliographies listing the books which have appeared in the German booktrade.

Other bibliographical work at the Deutsche Bücherei.

This imposing list of current national bibliographies does not make up the entire bibliographical output of the Deutsche Bücherei. Among the others listed in the library's annual report[1] are: the monthly list of German government documents, the central catalog of privately printed books, the international bibliography of historical sciences (German section), the editing of the Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland and its Jahresberichte, and a new bibliography started in 1930 of material relating to radio broadcasting. Although the library's enterprises are carried on under the auspices of the Börsenverein, these other bibliographies do not really fall into the class with which we are concerned. For booktrade bibliography, this complete system, (with lists or indexes covering regular periods from five years to one day) compiled at the Deutsche Bücherei and published by the Börsenverein, has few rivals and probably no equals among the other countries of the world.

Conclusion

At the beginning it was stated that national bibliography has been for the most part a booktrade affair. James Duff Brown, in a discussion of national bibliography and in connection with the role of trade bibliography in it, says: "In particular, the

1. Deutsche Bücherei. 17. Jahresbericht, 1929-1930.

trade bibliography of the Germans is to be commended for thoroughness and accuracy"[1] - and this was in 1906, before the Börsenverein had taken over all the existing bibliographies. For a complete survey of the works published in Germany, it would nevertheless be necessary to supplement this group of trade bibliographies with certain other works, especially for the early periods. For the 15th century publications there are several works, done chiefly by professional bibliographers, such as Hain and Panzer. Some of the greatest bibliographies of incunabula (books printed in the 15th century) are international, as for example the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, now in progress. The work of Panzer, Annalen der älteren deutschen Litteratur, is supplemented by that of Weller for the first quarter of the 16th century. For the period before 1700, the general bibliographies based on the Messkataloge may often be supplemented by other general bibliographies, such as Grässe's Trésor de livres rares et précieux, and by the printed catalogs of libraries. Beginning with the year 1700, however, the field of German bibliography is increasingly well covered by the booktrade bibliographies discussed.

What of the future? Will the Hitler regime have any effect on the activities of the Börsenverein? From several articles in Publishers' Weekly during the last year, it looks as though the establishment of the new national Chamber of Culture[2] would have

1. Brown. A manual of practical bibliography. p.133.

2. Germany's Kulturkammer. (In Publishers' weekly, v.124, p. 1677)

some effect on the organization of the Börsenverein and its duties, but probably not on such activities as the compilation of the current bibliographies. The new program of the Börsenverein referred to occasionally is concerned with questions of organization, price-fixing, etc., and not apparently with changes affecting the bibliographies.

In spite of the many difficulties and the infinite amount of painstaking, detailed work involved, the bookdealers have worked out the problem of furnishing to the trade - and incidentally to scholars and libraries - practically complete lists of new books, making them accessible through author, title, or subject. Just as Georg Willer issued the first Messkatalog to meet the needs of his business, so the Börsenverein does the same thing today for the whole booktrade by means of its highly organized system of current bibliographies: Börsenblatt, Deutsche Nationalbibliographie, Halbjahrsverzeichnis, and Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis.

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